DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 074 412 CG 007 899

AUTHOR	Turner, Barbara F.
TITLE	Socialization and Career Orientation Among Black and White College Women.
INSTITUTION	Massachusetts Univ., Amherst. Dept. of Human Development.
PUB DATE	72
NOTE	15p.; Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, September 2-8, 1972
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Career Choice; Career Planning; *College Students; Cultural Factors; Housewives; Negro Students; Occupational Choice; *Race Influences; Racial Factors; Research Projects; *Womens Education; *Working Women

ABSTRACT

The relationship of race to career orientation among college women as measured on an eight-point scale of expectations ranging from "housewife only" through part-time work to "not married; career only" is examined. Demographic, developmental, and attitudinal antecedents of career orientation among 28 black and 45 white SES-stratified university freshmen women were compared. Both racial groups were divided into high and low career expectations. Results indicate that although blacks were far likelier than whites to expect full-time paid employment, there was no overlap of independent variables that differentiate high and low career expectation among blacks and whites. The findings suggest that for black women in this sample a full-time career expectation may imply more of a deep sense of responsibility than an anticipation of personal fulfillment. Tables containing multivariate analyses are included. (Author/SES)

ED 074412

Socialization and Career Orientation Among Black and White College Women[1]

U.S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION & WELFARE OFFICE OF EDUCATION THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Barbara F. Turner

University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Department of Human Development

The present study describes the relationship of race to career orientation among college women, measured by expectations of homemaking or part-time or full-time career involvement. In an earlier study, Turner and Turner (1971) found that white parents, as reported by their college-attending children, differentiate by sex in socialization to achievement, but that black parents do not. These differences in socialization between black and white families were interpreted as a function, in part, of an accentuated demand for achievement among black females. The present study is designed to compare the developmental antecedents of career orientation among black and white women.

Subjects.--The sample consisted of 28 black and 45 white second-semester freshman women at the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts who were randomly selected from the sample of an earlier study of 70 black and 1,457 white entering freshman women. Because most black students entering the University of Massachusetts are participants in a special admissions program for promising low-income minority students, only 7 (25%) of the 28 blacks were of middle or upper-middle class status, as measured by father's occupation and education. Lower-status

CG 007 899

---

[1]This study was supported by a Faculty Research Grant from the Graduate Research Council of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Paper delivered at Division 9 Symposium: The Careers of Women: Research Problems and Social Issues, 80th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1972, Hawaii.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

whites were oversampled to obtain an N comparable to that of lower-status blacks, resulting in a white sample of 20 (44%) middle and upper-middle class women and 25 (56%) working and lower class women.

Procedures.--Career orientation, or career expectation (CE), was ascertained by asking Ss to designate "which of the following situations do you realistically expect" using an 8-point scale ranging from "housewife only" through part-time work to "not married; career only". (See Chart I.) Using the same scale, they were also asked which situation they "really preferred", as well as what "most men you know would prefer for their wives" and what their mothers expected for them. Other information gathered during individual interviews over one hour in duration included demographic, developmental, and attitudinal items presumably related to educational and occupational achievement.

Results.--Blacks were far likelier than whites to expect full-time paid employment. (See Table 1.) Fifty-four per cent (15) of blacks, but only 16% (7) of whites, expected full-time paid employment, whereas 53% (24) of whites and 21% (5) of blacks expected to be homemakers (CE scores of 1-3), working for pay, if at all, only before children were born or after they were grown. Similar percentages among both races expected occasional or steady part-time work. The mean CE score among blacks (M=5.07) was significantly higher than that (M=3.93) among whites (t=3.10, $p<.01$). When SES was dichotomized by father's collar color, SES did not differentiate CE scores.

It is notable that the mean scores for career preference (CP)

are highly similar for both races (M=4.68 for blacks and M=4.31 for whites), but while 54% of blacks prefer less career involvement than they realistically expect, 40% of whites prefer more career involvement than expected.

The focus of this study is upon the demographic and developmental antecedents of full-time career expectations. Since CE patterns were so different for black women and white women, it was hypothesized that the antecedents of career expectation were different for blacks and whites. Thus, the tactic of this study was to examine antecedents of CE separately for blacks and whites. Both racial groups were divided into high CE and low CE categories. Among blacks, the high CE group included those who expected full-time paid employment (CE scores of 6-8), 53% of all black Ss. The low CE group for blacks comprised all those who expected part-time or homemaking careers. Unfortunately, it was impossible to create high and low CE groups for whites identical to those for blacks, since only 16% of the total white sample of 45 Ss expected full-time paid employment. The white high CE group, therefore, also included the 8 Ss who expected steady part-time work. The total white high CE group comprised 33% of the white sample. All whites who expected occasional part-time work and homemaking (CE scores of 1-4) comprised the white low CE group.

Within each race, a multivariate analysis of variance was used to discriminate the high and low CE groups using a pool of 78 demographic, developmental and attitudinal independent variables that were selected on the basis of their

theoretical or proven empirical relationship to career orientation among women. Realms tapped by these independent variables included:

(1) parental occupational and educational status, including a 4-level SES classification;

(2) maternal influence, including measures of maternal employment history during Ss' childhoods (Almquist and Angrist, 1970), mothers' attitudes toward own employment, Ss' attitudes toward own mothers' employment, and mother's CE for S;

(3) 14 SES-related parental values for S during grammar school years, from which S chose those most and least emphasized by parents as important for her (Kohn, 1959);

(4) parental aspirations for S and childhood socialization to achievement, including parental pressure to finish or not finish college and encouragement or discouragement of Ss' aspirations;

(5) 12 value orientations presumably related to scholastic and vocational achievement (Rosen, 1956);

(6) 12 attitudes toward women's role items, which are postulated as outcomes of family background and developmental antecedents, but also are viewed as determinants of CE;

(7) 6 items tapping plausible "reasons" for women obtaining high education or job preparation, which Ss designate as personally important or not important;

(8) what Ss think men want (Hawley, 1971; Steinmann, 1959);

(9) two 15-item semantic differential scales rating the concepts "most men are" and "most women are"; on each scale scores across all 15 items are summed to yield total scores on a positive-negative dimension.

Following the initial multivariate analysis of variance for each racial group, on the basis of univariate F values 28 variables were selected as the best discriminators of high and low CE among whites. As hypothesized, a different set of 11 variables differentiated the two black groups. In the next step, multivariate analyses of variance were performed again to maximally differentiate high and low CE using 28 variables for whites and 11 variables for blacks. This technique, performed separately for blacks and whites, maximizes differences between the high and low CE groups and mimimizes the differences within groups.

The second analysis performed upon scores of the white Ss extracted a root which significantly differentiated the high and low CE groups ($p<.01$). (See Table 2.) Compared to low CE Ss, high CE Ss reported a higher incidence of parental separation or divorce ($F=7.55$, $p<.009$); 27% of the latter group reported separation or divorce. Curiously, high CE Ss attributed a less negative reaction and more mixed feelings to their fathers should S drop out of college ($F=6.44$, $p<.015$). (This finding is not a function of parental divorce; all Ss who reported paternal mixed feelings came from father-present homes.) High CE Ss were more likely to disagree with the women's role item, "It is more important for a married woman

to help her husband get ahead in his career than to have a career herself" ($F=4.78$, $p<.034$). Also, their parents placed greater emphasis on "trying hard to succeed" as an important quality for S to possess during childhood ($F=4.56$, $p<.038$). Among variables that differentiated high and low CE between the .05 and .10 levels of probability, high CE parents placed less emphasis on obeying parents well ($p<.058$), having self-control ($p<.066$), and having good manners ($p<.098$). High CE Ss thus tend to report that their parents placed less emphasis on the qualities that describe a nice, sweet, well-behaved girl, and placed more emphasis on striving, than is true for low CE Ss. The high CE group was more likely to disagree with the women's role item, "Even if a woman has the ability and the interest she should not choose an occupation that would be difficult to combine with child-rearing" ($p<.059$). At first glance, it is incongruous for the high CE Ss to report lower parental aspiration for S's highest academic degree than is true for the low CE group ($p<.070$); this finding is consistent, however, with the lower paternal disappointment should S drop out of school that is also reported by the high CE group.

Because only 7 whites expected full-time paid employment (CE scores of 6-8), a comparison of their developmental histories with those of all other whites, including those expecting steady part-time work, is at most suggestive. Informal analyses suggest, however, that whites expecting full-time employment hold significantly more equalitarian conceptions of women's role; their parents placed great emphasis on "being a good student"; and their semantic differential ratings of "most men" and of "most women" are more negative than those

of whites expecting less than full-time employment. Finally, 6 of the 7 women have blue-collar fathers.

The second multivariate analysis of variance performed upon 11 variables for black Ss failed to yield a root differentiating those expecting full-time paid employment from those expecting less employment ($p<.09$). (See Table 3.) It is notable that only 3 variables reached the .05 level of significance, and only one variable closely approached significance. Two of the variables that significantly differentiated high and low CE among blacks clearly reflect the impact on S of the perceived expectations and preferences of significant others. Compared to low CE Ss, the high CE group thinks that most men they know prefer more work involvement for their wives ($F=10.78$, $p<.003$) and that their mothers expect more employment for them ($F=4.29$, $p<.048$). It is startling to note that even high CE Ss think that most men they know would prefer their wives to be homemakers ($M=3.13$)! These black women expect to work far more than they believe men prefer for their wives; yet it seems that CE scores are affected by what they think men want. As a reason for "how much job preparation young women should get", high CE blacks are more likely to report that "A really good job can enable a girl who is looking for a husband to meet a better type of man" ($F=4.81$, $p<.038$) is personally important to them. Interest in hunting a high-status husband may reflect the finding that fully 66.6% of blacks who expect full-time employment would really prefer to work less than they expect. Attention to

significant others is also reflected in the greater tendency of high CE blacks to agree with the value orientation item "Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realize it was beneficial" ($p < .072$).

Discussion and Conclusions.--A striking finding of the present study is that there is no overlap of demographic, developmental and attitudinal variables that differentiate high and low CE among blacks and whites. High career expectation among whites is related to: (1) parental values for Ss' childhood behavior that stress competitiveness--trying hard to succeed and being a good student, with less emphasis, compared to low CE parents, upon obedient and "good" behavior; (2) equalitarian, self-striving attitudes toward women's roles; (3) a higher incidence of parental separation and divorce (but only 4 of the 15 high CE Ss reported such disruption); and (4) paradoxically, less paternal disappointment should S drop out of college, as well as a tendency toward lower parental aspirations for S's highest academic degree. Among blacks, full-time CE was related to perceptions of the preferences and expectations of significant others regarding their career involvement, as well as to appreciation of parental strictness. They also stressed the importance of holding a good job in order to find a high-status husband.

The finding of no overlap between the races underlines the importance of analyzing the antecedents of career expectation separately for each race. Since blacks expect so much more career involvement than whites, and since black mothers were far more likely to have worked, and worked earlier, during

Ss' childhoods, it might seem plausible that Ss' CE scores would be related to maternal work history among both races. Instead, the extent of maternal employment during Ss' childhoods in the present study did not differentiate high and low CE among either race.

Although nine realms of variables were used in this study to discover antecedents of women's career expectations, exceedingly few measures differentiated high and low CE among blacks. Turner and Turner (1971) posited an accentuated demand for achievement among black females in both family and non-family institutions. The findings of the present study suggest that these young women may be especially responsive to the expectations of significant others that they carry the responsibility implied by full-time employment. They expect to work full-time while preferring less work involvement and reporting negative attitudes toward their mothers' employment. For black women, full-time career expectation may imply more a deep sense of responsibility and less an anticipation of personal fulfillment.

References

Almquist, Elizabeth and Angrist, Shirley S. Career salience and atypicality of occupational choice among college women. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1970, 32(2), 242-249.

Hawley, Peggy. What women think men think: does it affect their career choice? Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1971, 18, 3, 193-199.

Kohn, Melvin L. Social class and parental values. American Journal of Sociology, 1959, 64, 337-351.

Rosen, Bernard C. The achievement syndrome: a psycho-cultural dimension of social stratification. American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 203-211.

Steinmann, Anne. Women's attitudes toward careers. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1959, Autumn, 15-18.

Turner, Castellano B., and Turner, Barbara F. Perception of the occupational opportunity structure, socialization to achievement and career orientation as related to sex and race. Proceedings of the 79th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971, 243-44.

CHART I

8 - Point Scale of Career Involvement

A. CAREER EXPECTATION (CE): "Which of the following situations do you realistically expect?"

B. CAREER PREFERENCE (CP): "Which of the following situations do you really prefer?"

C. MEN'S PREFERENCE: "Which of the following do you think most men you know would prefer for their wives?"

D. MOTHER'S EXPECTATION: "Which of the following does your mother think that you can realistically expect?"

1. Housewife only.
2. Employed only before children are born, then housewife.
3. Employed before children are born and only after children are grown.
4. Occasionally employed (every now and then) throughout marriage and child-rearing.
5. Combining marriage and child-rearing with steady part-time work.
6. Combining marriage and child-rearing with a full-time career.
7. Marriage and career, without children.
8. Not married; career only.

TABLE 1

Career Expectation (CE) Score Percentages by Race

CE	Race	
	Black N = 28	White N = 45
1.-3. Homemaking	21.4% (6)	53.3% (24)
4. Occasional part-time work	7.1 (2)	13.3 (6)
5. Steady part-time work	17.9 (5)	17.8 (8)
6.-8. Full-time paid employment	53.6 (15)	15.6 (7)

TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations of High and Low Career Expectation Groups and Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Variance for White *Ss*

Variable		White CE Groups Low (CE=1-4) (*N*=30)	High (CE=5-8) (*N*=15)	F ratio	p
Parental separation or divorce (1=married; 3=divorced)	M	1.03	1.47	7.55	.009
	SD	0.18	0.83		
Father's reaction should *S* drop out of college (1=broken-hearted; 4=pleased)	M	1.63	2.13	6.44	.015
	SD	0.61	0.64		
Women's Role: "It is more important for a married woman to help her husband get ahead in his career than to have a career herself" (1=agree; 2=disagree)	M	1.33	1.67	4.78	.034
	SD	0.48	0.49		
Parental value for *S*'s childhood behavior: "to try hard to succeed" (1=least important; 5=most important)	M	2.73	3.27	4.56	.038
	SD	0.79	0.80		
Parental value for *S*'s childhood behavior: "to obey parents well"	M	3.60	3.07	3.81	.058
	SD	0.89	0.80		
Women's Role: "Even if a woman has the ability and the interest she should not choose an occupation that would be difficult to combine with child-rearing"	M	1.37	1.67	3.76	.059
	SD	0.49	0.49		

TABLE 2--Continued

Variable		White CE Groups Low (CE=1-4) (N=30)	High (CE=5-8) (N=15)	F ratio	p
Parental value for S's childhood behavior: "to have self-control"	M SD	2.97 0.18	2.80 0.41	3.55	.066
Parental aspirations for S's highest academic degree (1=low; 4=high)	M SD	2.50 0.56	2.13 0.74	3.46	.070
Parental value for S's childhood behavior: "to have good manners"	M SD	3.33 0.61	3.00 0.66	2.87	.098

TABLE 3

Means and Standard Deviations of High and Low Career Expectation Groups and Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Variance for Black *Ss*

Variable		Black CE Groups Low (CE=1-5) (*N*=13)	High (CE=6-8) (*N*=15)	F ratio	p
"Which...do you think most men you know would prefer for their wives?" (1=housewife only; 7=marriage and career, without children)	M	1.46	3.13	10.78	.003
	SD	0.97	1.60		
As a reason for young women getting job preparation, is this important or not important in your thinking: "A really good job can enable a girl who is looking for a husband to meet a better type of man" (1=important, 2=not important)	M	1.85	1.47	4.81	.038
	SD	0.38	0.52		
"Which...does your mother think that you can realistically expect? (1=housewife only; 8=not married, career only)	M	3.31	4.73	4.29	.048
	SD	1.80	1.83		
Value orientation: "Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realize it was beneficial" (1=strongly disagree; 4=strongly agree)	M	3.11	3.56	3.51	.072
	SD	0.64	0.62		